Sources and Bibliography

MANUSCRIPTS AND ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Archives and Specialized Collections in Latin America

Archivo Chile, Centro de Estudios Miguel Enriquez, Online
Archivo de Diarios, Palacio Legislativo, Montevideo, Uruguay (AD)
Archivo Diplomático-Administrativo, Montevideo, Uruguay (ADA)
Archivo General de la Universidad, Montevideo, Uruguay (AGU)
    Ana María Ferrari Colección
    Julio Rügnitz Colección
Archivo Histórico- Diplomático, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Montevideo, Uruguay (AHD)
Archivo Legislativo, Montevideo, Uruguay (AL)
Archivo de Madres y Familiares de los Detenidos y Desaparecidos, Montevideo, Uruguay (AMF)
Archivo del Secretaría de Derechos Humanos para el Pasado Reciente, Montevideo, Uruguay
Archivo de Servicio Paz y Justicia, Montevideo, Uruguay (Archivo SERPAJ)
Biblioteca Miguel Lerdo Tejada, Mexico City, Mexico (BMLT)
Biblioteca Nacional, Montevideo, Uruguay (BN)
Biblioteca Nacional, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Biblioteca del Palacio Legislativo, Montevideo, Uruguay (PL)
Centro de Documentación e Investigación de la Cultura de Izquierdas, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Centro de Fotografía de Montevideo
Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios Uruguayos, Montevideo, Uruguay (CEIU)
    Álvaro Barros Lémez Colección
    Cores Colección
    David Compora Colección
    Derechos Humanos Colección
    Gustavo Olmos Colección
    Jesus Betancourt Colección
    Luis Echave Colección
    Ponce de León Colección
    Prensa
    Raul Jacob Colección
    Waksman Colección
Facultad Ciencias Sociales, Montevideo, Uruguay
Sistema de Bibliotecas de Universidad ORT, Montevideo, Uruguay

Archives and Specialized Collections in the United States and Europe

Columbia University Archives, New York, NY
    Amnesty International-USA Collection (AIUSA)
    Human Rights Watch Collection (HRW)
Carter Presidential Library, Atlanta, GA (JCL)
Donald Fraser Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN (DFP)
Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, MI

Nettie Lee Benson Latin America Collection, University of Texas at Austin Archives (Benson)
    George Lister Papers (GLP)
Human Rights Archives, Duke University, Durham, NC
    Patricia Derian Papers (PDP)
    Washington Office on Latin America Collection (WOLA)
International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands
Rockefeller Archives Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY (RAC)
    Ford Foundation Archive
    James Cannon Files (JCF RAC)
    Nelson Rockefeller Papers
Manuscripts and Archives at Yale University, New Haven, CT
Marshall Bloom Collection, Amherst College Library Archives and Special Collections, Amherst, MA (BC)
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (NARA)
    Warren Christopher Papers (Christopher Papers)
National Archives, United Kingdom, London, UK (TNA)
National Security Archive, Washington DC (NSA)
Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, CA
Princeton University Archives, Princeton, NJ (PUA)
    North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)
    Archive of Latin American and Caribbean Ephemera
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, NY
Tamiment Library, New York University, New York, NY (Tamiment)
    Philip Agee Papers
United Nations Archives and Documents, New York, NY (UN)
Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI
World Council of Churches Archives, Geneva, Switzerland (WCC)

Online Archives

Archivo Sociedades en Movimiento (Uruguay) (ASM)
Argentina Declassification Project
Amnesty International Online Archive
Department of State Virtual Reading Room (DOSVRR)
Nixon Presidential Library Online Archive
Reuters Video Archive
Virtual CIA Reading Room
Wikileaks

Private Papers

Blane, Andrew. New York, NY.
Charles Flynn, Davidson, NC
Raquel Nogara, Montevideo, Uruguay

Periodicals

All periodicals whose titles are in Spanish are from Montevideo, Uruguay unless otherwise indicated. All English-language titles are from the U.S. unless otherwise indicated.

America Magazine: the Jesuit Review
Americas Quarterly
Aquí
Ariel
BBC, London, UK
Boletín Socialista Internacional
Boston Globe
Brecha
Buenos Aires Herald, Argentina
Cuadernos de Marcha
Cinco Días
Christian Science Monitor
The Day
La Democracia
El Día
El Diario
EFE News Service, Madrid
Enfoque
Estudios
El Espectador
Foreign Affairs
Globe and Mail, Canada
The Guardian
El Informador
The Irish Times
Jacobin
Jaque
Jornada
Hebreo
Los Angeles Times
La Mañana
Latin America and Carribean Inside Report
Marcha
Militancia
Mundo Afro
La Naciòn
The Nation
New Internationalist
New York Review of Books
New York Times
New Yorker
Newsweek
The Observer
Opinar
El País
La Plaza

El Popular
El País
Posdata
Pulitzer Center
La República
Resumen
Saturday Review of Literature
Temas de Nuestro Tiempo
TIME Magazine
The Times: London
El Universal
U.S. News and World Report
Washington Post
Worldview

Interviews

Blane, Andrew. June 10, 2016, Email. June 17, 2016. New York, NY.
Jo-Marie Burt, July 12, 2020. Phone
Bustamente, Pancho. September 11, 2014. Montevideo Uruguay
Joe Eldridge, January 4, 2018. Washington, DC.
Joe Eldridge, June 2, 2020. Phone.
Ferreira, Juan Raúl. January 15, 2018. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Flores Silva, Manual. July 24, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Flynn, Charles. June 9, 2020. Phone.
Goldman, Robert. March 2, 2020. Phone.
Griesgraber, Jo Marie. December 15, 2017. Phone.
Hawk, David. June 2, 2016. Phone
Kaufman, Edy. June 22, 2016. Phone.
Mazzarovich, Gabriel. March 19, 2012. Montevideo, Uruguay. Interview with Abby Goldberg.
Méndez, Juan. February 24, 2020. Washington, DC.
Michelini, Felipe. June 14, 2012. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Mota, Mariana. January 17, 2018. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Nagora, Raquel. August 1, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Olivera, Efrain. August 24, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Riley, Alicia. March 13, 2014. Phone.
Rodríguez Larreta, Matilde. March 3, 1999. Montevideo, Uruguay. Interview with Marisa Ruiz.
Rodríguez, Romero Jorge. October 9, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Romani, Milton. May 25, 2020. Zoom.
Pan y Pan, Jorge. August 21, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Patricia Pittman, May 22, 2020. Zoom.
Prat, Martin. August 19, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Santos, Beatriz. September 8, 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.
Jorge Tiscornia, 28 November 2015
Trivelli, Isabel. 22 March 2012. Montevideo, Uruguay. Interview with Abby Goldberg.
Lawrence Weschler, 9 October 2014
Alex Wilde, June 4, 2020. Phone.

Youle, John. December 5, 2017. Phone.

Published Reports, Documents, Memoirs

Amnesty: Symposium on The State of Emergency and Human Rights in Uruguay. Paris: SIJAU, 1978.

Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Oral Histories
Pezzulo, Lawrence. February 24, 2989, https://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Pezzulo,%20Lawrence%20A.toc.pdf?_ga=2.91837843.82786147.1628799609-136417637.1628799609.

Todman, Terrance. June 23, 1995. http://adst.org/oral-history/fascinating-figures/being-black-in-a-lily-white-state-department/

Brown, Cynthia, ed. *With Friends Like These: The Americas Watch Report on Human Rights and U.S. Policy in Latin America.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Carter, Jimmy. *White House Diary*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.

Centro Uruguay Independiente. *Referéndum.* Montevideo: CUI, 1987.

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1979. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.

PIT-CNT: un solo movimiento sindical: selección de documentos. Montevideo: PIT-CNT, 1985.

CNT 1964-1965: Documentos Sindicales. Montevideo: Centro Uruguay Independiente, 1966.

CNT: Declaración de principios, programa y estatutos. Montevideo: Centro Estudiantes de Derecho, 1967.

Department of State Bulletin. Washington, DC: Office of Public Communication, 1945.

di Candia, Cesar. *Ni Muerte Ni Derrota: Testimonios sobre Zelmar Michelini.* Madrid: Ediciones Atenea, 1987.

Documentos de la Huelga General. Montevideo: Centro Uruguay Independiente, 1984.

Documentos políticos: La CDU una experiencia unitaria. Mexico: Ediciones CDU, 1984.

Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) volumes
FRUS, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America; Mexico
FRUS, 1977-1980: Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Volume II

Foro Internacional sobre la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos en América Latina. Montevideo: Universidad de la República Departamento De Publicaciones, 1971.

Goldman, Robert, and Cynthia Brown, *Challenging Impunity: The Ley de Caducidad and the Referendum Campaign in Uruguay,* Americas Watch Committee, 1989.

"Hearings on Human Rights in Uruguay and Paraguay." Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.

Hudson, Darril. *The World Council of Churches in International Affairs.* Great Britain: Faith Press, 1977.

"Human Rights and U.S. Policy in the Multilateral Development Banks." Hearing before the Subcommittee International Development Institutions and Finance, 97th Congress, First Session, July 21 and 23, 1981. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1981.

Junta de Comandantes en Jefe. *Las Fuerzas Armadas al pueblo oriental.* Montevideo: República Oriental del Uruguay, 1978.

Laber, Jeri. *The Courage of Strangers: Coming of Age with the Human Rights Movement.* New York: Public Affairs, 2002.

The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, "Uruguay: The End of a Nightmare?" May 1984.

Martínez Moreno, Carlos. *Los Días Que Vivimos* Montevideo: Editorial Giron, 1973.

Mazzeo, Omar. *Memorias del Voto Verde.* Montevideo: Rosebud Ediciones, 1999.

Memoria de Punta de Rieles en los tiempos del penal de mujeres. Montevideo, Editorial Vivencias, 2004.

Méndez, Juan. *Taking a Stand: The Evolution of Human Rights.* New York: St. Martin's Press 2011.

Movimiento estudiantil: resistencia y transición. Montevideo: Centro Uruguay Independiente, 1988.

Neier, Aryeh. *The International Human Rights Movement: A History*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Neier, Aryeh. *Taking Liberties: Four Decades in the Struggle for Rights.* New York: Public Affairs, 2003.

Olivera, Efrain. "Sigue valiendo la pena." *Si decimos Derechos Humanos…*Montevideo: SERPAJ, 2006.

Organization of American States. “Annual Report 1979-1980.” Chapter V Uruguay, http://www.cidh.org/annualrep/79.80eng/chap.5.htm.

Pereyra, Carlos Julio, ed. *Wilson: Las Cartas del Exilio*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2013.

“Primeras 30 Medidas de Gobierno del Frente Amplio.” *Problemas de Desarrollo* 2 no. 9 (1971): 160-168.

“Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Uruguay,” Organization of American States, 1978.

Rial, Juan. “Uruguay: Elecciones de 1984: Sistema Electoral y Resultados.” *Centro Interamericano de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral.* Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 1986.

Rickard, Stephen A. et al. “Chile: Human Rights and the Plebiscite,” *An Americas Watch Report.* July 1988.

Sanguinetti, Julio María. “Present at the Transition.” In *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, edited by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, 53-60. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Servicio Paz y Justicia. *Uruguay, Nunca Más: Human Rights Violations, 1972-1985*, translated by Elizabeth Hampsten. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1992.

Symposium on the State of Emergency and Human Rights in Uruguay. Paris: International Secretariat of Catholic Jurists/International Federation of Human Rights, 1978.

Tarigo, Enrique. *Temas de Nuestro Tiempo, Tomo I.* Montevideo, Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1979.

Torture in Greece: The First Torturers’ Trial 1975. Amnesty International Publications, 1977.

Tribunal Permanente de los Pueblos. Montevideo: Graphis Ltda, 1990.

“The Tupamaro Manifesto.” In *The Tupamaros: Urban Guerrillas in Uruguay*, edited by Alain Labrousse, 157-162. New York: Penguin, 1973.

Uruguay. Country report on human rights practices. Report submitted to the committee on foreign affairs, US House of Representatives. Washington DC, US Government Printing Office, 1987.

Uruguay: Generals Rule. London: Latin America Bureau, 1980.

U.S. Congress. House Committee on International Relations. *Human Rights in Uruguay and Paraguay, Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Relations.* 94th Congress, 2d sess., 1976.

Vance, Cyrus. *Hard Choices: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983.

"When the War Ends: A population-based survey on attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda." Human Rights Center-Berkeley, Payson Center for International Development and the International Center for Transitional Justice. December 2007.

Weingärtner, Erich. *Human Rights: Solidarities, Networks, and the Ecumenical Movement*. Philippines: Human Rights Desk, National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1988.

Zelmar Michelini: Artículos Periodisticos y Ensanyo, Tomo VI. Montevideo: Cámara de Senadores, 1986.

Bibliography

Abin, Emilia, and Emmanuel Martínez. "Rituales ruraloides en la transición a la democracia." In *Al Retorno a la Democracia: otras miradas,* edited by Álvaro de Giorgi and Carlos Demasi. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo Editorial, 2016.

Achugar, Mariana. "Between Remembering and Forgetting: Uruguayan Military Discourse About Human Rights (1976-2004)." *Discourse & Society* 18 (2007): 521-547.

Achugar, Mariana. *What We Remember: The Construction of Memory in Military Discourse*. John Benjamins Publishing, 2008.

Adams, A. James. *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.

Adair, Jennifer. *In Search of the Lost Decade: Everyday Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.

Aguilar, Paloma. "Transitional or Post-transitional Justice? Recent Developments in the Spanish Case." *South European Society and Politics* 13 (2008): 417-433.

Alberto, Paulina. *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth Century Brazil.* Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011.

Albistur, Gerardo. "Democracia y Libertad: Un Debate Público en Dictadura (1973-1984)." *Revista Encuentros Latinoamericanos* 1 no. 2 (2012): 397-422.

Albistur, Gerardo. “La Libertad y la Liberal Republicana: Un Debate entre ‘acrecidos’ y ‘desplazados’ durante el régimen cívico-militar.” Seminario Permanente de Investigación Sobre Historia Reciente. Abril 2014. Montevideo Uruguay.

Aldrighi, Clara. *Estados Unidos y Uruguay 1964-1966.* Montevideo, Uruguay: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2012.

Aldrighi, Clara. *La Intervención de Estados Unidos en Uruguay (1965-1973): El Case Mitrione.* Montevideo: Trilce, 2007.

Aldrighi, Clara. *La Izquierda armada: Ideología, ética e identidad en el MLN-Tupamaros.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2001.

Aldrighi, Clara. *Memorias de Insurgencia: Historia de vida y militancia en el MLN-Tupamaros,* 1965-1975. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda, 2009.

Alexander, Robert J. and Eldon M. Parker. *A History of Organized Labor in Uruguay and Paraguay*. Westport: Praeger, 2005.

Allcock, Thomas Tunstall. *Thomas C. Mann: President Johnson, the Cold War, and the Restructuring of Latin American Foreign Policy.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2018.

Alonso, Eduardo. *Clandestinos: Blancos y colorados frente a la dictadura 1973-1985.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental 2012.

Amado, Fernando. *Mandato de Sangre*. Montevideo: Random House Mondadori, 2012.

Anderson, Carol. *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America 1800-2000.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003

Andrews, George Reid. “Afro-Uruguay,” *Black Past.* March 11, 2011. http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/afro-uruguay-brief-history

Andrews, George Reid. *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Arocena, Felipe. “Uruguay: un país más diverso que su imaginación: una interpretación a partir del censo de 2011.” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 33 (2013): 138-158.

Arthur, Paige. “How ‘Transitions’ Reshaped Human Rights: A Conceptual History of Transitional Justice.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 31 (2009): 321–67.

Atencio, Rebecca. *Memory's Turn: Reckoning with Dictatorship in Brazil.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

Barahona de Brito, Alexandra. *Human Rights and Democratization in Latin America: Uruguay and Chile*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Barahona de Brito, Alexandra. "Truth, Justice, Memory, and Democratization in the Southern Cone." In *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies,* edited by Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen Gonzaléz-Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar, 119-160. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Barczak, Monica. "Representation by Consultation? The Rise of Direct Democracy in Latin America." *Latin America Politics and Society* 43 no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 37-59.

Barros, Robert. *Constitutionalism and Dictatorship: Pinochet, the Junta, and the 1980 Constitution.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bell, Peter. "The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor." *International Organization* 25 no. 3 (1971): 465-478.

Belmonte, Laura. *The International LGBT Rights Movement.* New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.

Benedetti, Mario. *Witness.* Buffalo, NY: White Pine Press, 2012.

Benton, Lauren. "Reshaping the Urban Core: The Politics of Housing in Authoritarian Uruguay." *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 33–52

Bergstein, Nahum. *Judío: una experiencia Uruguaya*. Colonia: Editorial Fin de Siglo, 1993.

Bermeo, Nancy Gina. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Bértola, Luis. "An Overview of the Economic History of Uruguay." *EH.net Encyclopedia,* edited by Robert Whaples (2008), https://eh.net/encyclopedia/an-overview-of-the-economic-history-of-uruguay-since-the-1870s/.

Bickford, Louis. "Human Rights Archives and Research on Historical Memory: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay." *Latin American Research Review* 35, no. 2 (2000): 160-182.

Boas, Taylor C. "Voting for Democracy: Campaign Effects in Chile's Democratic Transition." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57 no. 2 (2015): 67-90.

Bordas Martínez, Julio. *Tupamaros: Derrota Militar, Metamorfosis Política y Victoria Electoral.* Madrid: Dykinson, 2015.

Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

Borucki, Alex. *From Shipmates to Soldiers: Emerging Black Identities in the Río de la Plata.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015.

Bradley, Mark. "American Vernaculars: The United States and the Global Human Rights Imagination." *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 1 (January 2014): 1-21.

Brands, Hal. *Latin America's Cold War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Brown, Matthew. "The global history of Latin America." *Journal of Global History* (2015): 365-386.

Brum, Pablo. *The Robin Hood Guerrillas: The Epic Journey of Uruguay's Tupamaros*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014.

Broquetas, Magdalena. "Los frentes del anticomunismo. Las derechas en el Uruguay de los tempranos sesenta." *Contemporánea. Historia y problemas del siglo XX* 3:3 (2012): 11-29.

Bruey, Alison. *Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grassroots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018.

Bruno, Mauricio. "Usos y sentidos de la democracia en Uruguay (1955-1989)." GEIPAR. June 2014.

Brysk, Alison. *Speaking Rights to Power: Constructing Political Will.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Buchanan, Paul G. "Preauthoritarian Institutions and Postauthoritarian Outcomes: Labor Politics in Chile and Uruguay." *Latin American Politics and Society* 50 no. 1 (April 2008): 59-89.

Buchanan, Tom. "'The Truth Will Set You Free': The Making of Amnesty International. *Journal of Contemporary History* 37 no. 4 (2002): 575-597.

Bucheli, Gabriel. "Organizaciones 'demócratas' y radicalización anticomunista en Uruguay, 1959-1962." *Contemporánea: Historia y problemas del siglo XX* 3:3 (2012): 31-52.

Bucheli, Gabriel, et al. *Vivos los llevaron--: historia de la lucha de Madres y Familiares de Uruguayos Detenidos Desaparecidos (1976-2005)*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2005.

Bucheli, Marisa and Rafael Porzecanski. "Racial Inequality in the Uruguayan Labor Market: An Analysis of Wage Differentials Between Afro-Descendants and Whites." *Latin American Politics & Society* 53, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 113-150.

Burke, Roland. *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Burt, Jo Marie. "The Paradoxes of Accountability: Transitional Justice in Peru." In *The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents*, edited by Steve Stern and Scott Straus, 148-176. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

Burt, Jo-Marie, Francesca Lessa, and Gabriela Fried Amilivia. "Civil Society and the Resurgent Struggle against Impunity in Uruguay (1986–2012)." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* (March 2013): 1–22.

Caetano, Gerardo, and José Rilla. *Breve Historia de la Dictadura.* Montevideo: Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana, 1991.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. *Uruguay and the United Nations.* New York: Manhattan Publishing Co., 1958.

Cameselle, Pedro. "A Forgotten Neighbor: The Challenge of Uruguay-United States Relations during the Era of Franklin Roosevelt, 1929-1945." PhD diss., Fordham University, 2016.

Canel, Eduardo. "Democratization and the Decline of Urban Social Movements in Uruguay: A Political-Institutional Account." In *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, edited by Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, 276–290. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

Cangemi, Michael. "Ambassador Frank Ortiz and Guatemala's "Killer President," 1976-1980." *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 4 (2018): 613-639.

Capello, Ernest. "Latin America Encounters Nelson Rockefeller." In *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, edited by Jessica Stites Mores, 48-73. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013.

Carothers, Thomas. *In the Name of Democracy: U.S. Policy Toward Latin America in the Reagan Years.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Carozza, Paolo G. "From Conquest to Constitutions: Retrieving a Latin American Tradition of the Idea of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 25 no. 2 (May 2003): 281-313.

Churchill, Lindsey. *Becoming the Tupamaros: Solidarity and Transnational Revolutionaries in Uruguay and the United States*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014.

Cleary, Edward. *The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America.* Westport: Praeger, 1997.

Clymer, Adam. *Drawing the Line at the Big Ditch: The Panama Canal Treaties and the Rise of the Right.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008.

Cmiel, Kenneth. “The Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States,” *The Journal of American History* 86 no. 3 (December 1999): 1231-1250.

Cmiel, Kenneth. “The Recent History of Human Rights.” *American Historical Review* 109 no. 1 (February 2004): 117-135.

Cohen, Roberta. “Human Rights Diplomacy: The Carter Administration and the Southern Cone.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 212-242.

Collins, Cath *Post-Transitional Justice: Human Rights Trials in Chile and El Salvador*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

Conze, Aracely Fernández. “Qué nos aporta el caso uruguayo a los estudios sobre las transiciones a la democracia del Cono Sur latinoamericano en los 80?” Seminario de Historia Reciente. Setiembre 2014. Montevideo, Uruguay.

Cook, Helena. “The Role of Amnesty International in the Fight Against Torture.” In *The International Fight Against Torture,* edited by Antonio Cassese, 172-177. Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991.

Corbo Longueira, Daniel J. *El Plebiscito Constitucional de 1980: La Derrota del Proyecto Militar Para Legitimar un Régimen Autoritario.* Montevideo: Ediciones Puerta del Sur, 2006.

Costa-Gavras, director. *State of Siege.* International Films, 1972.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Crump, Laurien and Susanna Erlandsson, eds. *Margins for Manoeuvre in Cold War Europe: The Influence of Smaller Powers*. New York: Routledge, 2020.

Cultelli, André. *La revolución necesaria, contribución a la autocrítica del MLN Tupamaros*. Buenos Aires: Colihue, 2006.

Dahl, Robert Alan. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

Davis, William Columbus. *Warnings from the Far South: Democracy versus Dictatorship in Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995.

De Jong, Greta. *You Can’t Eat Freedom.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Delgado, María, Marisa Ruiz and Raúl Zibechi. "'So the people can decide': The Experience of the Referendum Against the Impunity Law in Uruguay." Montevideo, 1999.

Dinges, John. *The Condor Years: How Pincohet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents.* New York: The New Press, 2004.

Donoso Macaya, Ángeles. *The Insubordination of Photography.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020.

Drake, Paul W. *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Dutrénit Bielous, Silvia ed. *El Uruguay del exilio: Gente, circunstancias, escenarios.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2006.

Eckel, Jan and Samuel Moyn. *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Edelman, Alexander. "The Rise and Demise of Uruguay's Second Plural Executive." *The Journal of Politics* 31 no. 1 (Feb. 1969): 119-139

Edmonds, Amy. "Moral Authority and Authoritarianism: The Catholic Church and the Military Regime in Uruguay." *Journal of Church and State* 56, no. 4 (2013): 644-669.

Ehrick, Christine. "*Madrinas* and Missionaries: Uruguay and the Pan-American Women's Movement." *Gender & History* 10 no. 3. (November 1998).

Ehrick, Christine. *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930-1950.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Ehrick, Christine. *The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay, 1903-1933.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Ehrman, John. *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Elena, Eduardo. "Argentina in Black and White." In *Rethinking Race in Modern Argentina,* edited by Paulina Alberto and Eduardo Elena. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Elster, Jon, ed., *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Encarnación, Omar. "A Latin American Puzzle: Gay Rights Landscapes in Argentina and Brazil." *Human Rights Quarterly* 40 (2018): 194-218.

Espeche, Ximena. *La Paradoja Uruguaya: Intelectuales, Latinoamericanismo, y Nación a Mediados de Siglo XX.* Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes Editorial, 2016.

Evans, Richard. *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914.* New York: Viking, 2016.

Farer, Tom, ed. *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Feldman, Miguel. *Tiempos Difíciles: Inmigrantes judíos en Uruguay 1933-1945.* Montevideo: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de le Educación de la Universidad de la Republica, 2001.

Ferreira, Juan Raúl. "30 Años de WOLA." Accessed 7 July 2014. http://www.juanraulferreira.com.uy/30%20A%C3%B1os%20de%20WOLA.pdf

Ferreira, Juan Raúl. *Con la patria en la valija: El exilio, Wilson y los años trágicos.* Montevideo: Linardi y Risso, 2000.

Ferreira, Juan Raúl. *Vadearás la sangre: Historias del Uruguay de todos*. Montevideo: Linardi y Risso, 2005.

Filgueria, Fernando. "A Century of Social Welfare in Uruguay: Growth to the Limit of the Batllista Social State." *Democracy and Social Policy Series* (Spring 1995).

Finch, Henry. "Democratisation in Uruguay." *Third World Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (July 1985): 594-609.

Finch, Henry. "Uruguay since 1930." In *Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 195-232. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fisher, Jo. *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance and Politics in South America.* London: Latin American Bureau, 1993.

Fox, Michael. "Uruguay's Frente Amplio: From Revolution to Dilution." *Upside Down World*, June 2007.

Foucault, Michael. *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, Random House, 1980.

Forsythe, David. *Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Congress Reconsidered.* Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988.

Forsythe, David. "Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect." *Political Science Quarterly* 105 no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 435-54.

Fraile, Lydia, ed. *Blunting Neoliberalism: Tripartism and Economic Reforms in the Developing World.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Franceschet, Susan, Jennifer Piscopo, and Gwynn Thomas. “Supermadres, Maternal Legacies, and Women’s Political Participation in Contemporary Latin America.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 48 no. 1 (February 2016): 1-32.

Franco, Jean. “Gender, Death, and Resistance.” In *Fear at the Edge: State Terror in Latin America,* edited by Juan E. Corradi, 104-118. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Freeman, Mark. *Necessary Evils: Amnesties and the Search for Justice.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Freeman, Michael. *Freedom Or Security: The Consequences for Democracies Using Emergency Powers to Fight Terror.* Westport: Praeger, 2003.

Fremd, André and Germán Kronfeld. *(Des)aparecido: Vida, Obra y Desapración de Eduardo Bleier.* Montevideo: Estuario Editora, 2011.

Fried Amilivia, Gabriela. “Piecing Memories Together after State Terror and Policies of Oblivion in Uruguay: The Female Political Prisoner’s Testimonial Project (1997-2004).” *Social Identities* 12 no. 5 (September 2006).

Fried Amilivia, Gabriela. *State Terrorism and the Politics of Memory in Latin America: Transmissions Across the Generations of Post-Dictatorship Uruguay, 1984-2004*. New York: Cambria Press, 2016.

Friedman, Max Paul, and Tom Long. “The Promise and Precommitment in Democracy and Human Rights: The Hopeful, Forgotten Failure of the Larreta Doctrine.” *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2020): 1088-1103.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security,* revised and updated. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Galeano, Eduardo. “The Dictatorship and Its Aftermath: The Secret Wounds.” *Contemporary Marxism* 14 (Fall 1986): 16-20.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Memory of Fire.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

Gargiulo, Martín. “The Uruguayan Labor Movement in the Post-Authoritarian Period.” In *Labor Autonomy and the State in Latin America,* edited by Edward Epstein, 219-246. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Gates-Madsen, Nancy. *Trauma, Taboo, and Truth-Telling: Listening to Silences in Postdictatorship Argentina.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016.

Gatto, Hebert. *El cielo por asalta: el Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (Tupamaros) y la izquierda uruguaya (1963-1972).* Montevideo: Taurus, 2004.

Gauding, Anna-Karin. *Es mejor encender una luz que maldecir la oscuridad: sobre el trabajo de Diakonia por los derechos humanos en América Latina*. Santiago de Chile: Diakonia, 1991.

Glendon, Mary Ann. "The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (Spring 2003): 27-39.

Glendon, Mary Ann. *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Gillespie, Charles. *Negotiating Democracy: Politicians and Generals in Uruguay*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Gills, Barry, et. al. "Low Intensity Democracy." In *Low Intensity Democracy: Political Power in the New World Order*, edited by Barry Gills et. al., 3-35. London: Pluto Press, 1993.

Gilio, Maria Esther. *The Tupamaros*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1972.

de Giorgi, Ana Laura. "A la calle con la cacerola." In *Movimientos de mujeres y lucha feminista en América Latina y el Caribe,* edited by Aline Godois de Castro Tavares et al., 239-374. Buenos Aires: CLASCO, 2016.

de Giorgi, Ana Laura. "La otra nueva ola: Jóvenes mujeres comunistas en el Uruguay de los 60." *Revista Izquierdas* 22 (enero 2015): 204-226.

de Giorgi, Álvaro. "Las defensas blanca y colorada de la ley: entre el mal menor y el "broche de oro" de la "restauración modelo." In *Ley de Caducidad Un Tema Inconcluso: Momentos, Actores, y Argumentos* (1986-2013), edited by Aldo Marchesi, 12-60. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2013.

Gonzalez, Luis. "1980-1981: An Unexpected Opening." *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 3 (1983): 63-76.

Gonzalez-Vaillant, Gabriela. "The Tupamaros: re-gendering an ungendered guerrilla movement." *International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 10 no. 3-4 (2015): 295-311

Goebel, Michael. "Gauchos, Gringos and Gallegos: The Assimilation of Italian and Spanish Immigrants in the Making of Modern Uruguay 1880–1930." *Past and Present* 208 (2010): 191-229.

Grandin, Greg. *Kissinger's Shadow: The Long Reach of America's Most Controversial Statesman.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005.

Green, James. "(Hom)osexuality, Human Rights, and Revolution in Latin America." In *Human Rights and Revolution,* edited by Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Lynn Hunt, and Marilyn Young, 139-154. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

Green, James. *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2010.

Gregory, Stephen. *Intellectuals and Left Politics in Uruguay, 1958-2006*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009.

Griesgraber, Jo Marie. "Uruguay: Five Years of Military Rule." Washington DC: WOLA, 1978. accessed 4 June 2014. http://www.juanraulferreira.com.uy/URUGUAY%20FIVE%20YEARS%20OF%20MILITARY%20RULES.pdf

Gould, Jeffrey L. "Solidarity Under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968." *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 348-375.

Guest, Iain. *Behind the Disappearances: Argentina's Dirty War Against Human Rights and United Nations*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press, 1995.

Handelman, Howard. "Politics and Plebiscites: The Case of Uruguay." *Working Papers of the Latin American Program of the Woodrow International Center for Scholars,* no. 89 (April 1981).

Harari, José. *Contribución a la historia del ideario del MLN (Tupamaros).* Montevideo: Editorial MZ, 1986.

Hargrove, Erwin C., *Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of Public Good*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1988.

Harmer, Tanya. *Beatriz Allende: A Revolutionary Life in Cold War Latin America.* Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2020.

Harmer, Tanya, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011.

Harmer, Tanya and Alberto Martín Álvarez, eds. *Toward A Global History of Latin America's Revolutionary Left.* Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 2021.

Harper, Charles R. *O Acompanhamento: Ecumenical Action for Human Rights in Latin America 1970-1990*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 2006.

Hayner, Priscilla B. *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Hentschke, Jens. “Artiguista, White, Cosmopolitan and Educated: Constructions of Nationhood in Uruguayan Textbooks and Related Narratives, 1868–1915." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 44, no. 4 (November 2012): 733-764.

Hernández, Tanya Katerí. *Racial Subordination in Latin America: The Role of the State, Customary Law, and the New Civil Rights Response.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Hodges, Donald C. *Argentina’s “Dirty War”: An Intellectual Biography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.

Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig. “Human Rights and History.” *Past and Present* 232 no. 1 (2016): 279-281.

Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig. *Human Rights in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Hopgood, Stephen. *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Horne, Cynthia. “Transitional Justice and Temporal Parameters.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 14 (2020): 544-565.

Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights: A History.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

Huntington, Samuel. *Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Imbusch, Peter, Michel Misse, and Fernando Carrión. “Violence Research in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review.” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5 no. 1 (2011): 88-154.

Ingelse, Chris. *United Nations Committee Against Torture: An Assessment.* Boston: Kluwer Law International, 2001.

Iriye, Akira and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffman, *Human Rights in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Iriye, Akira, Petra Goedde, and William Hitchcock. *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jeffery, Renée. *Amnesties, Accountability, and Human Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Jensen, Steven L.B. *The Making of International Human Rights: The 1960s, Decolonization, and the Reconstruction of Global Values.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Katz, Andrew Z. “Public Opinion and the Contradictions of Jimmy Carter’s Foreign Policy.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 30 no. 4 (December 2000): 662-687.

Katz, Paul. “A New ‘Normal’: Political Complicity, Exclusionary Violence and the Delegation of Argentine Jewish Associations during the Argentine Dirty War.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011): 366–389.

Kaufman, Edy. *Uruguay in Transition: From Civilian to Military Rule.* New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1979.

Kaufman, Scott. *Plans Unraveled: The Foreign Policy of the Carter Administration.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2008.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Keller, Renata. *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kelly, Patrick William. “The 1973 Chilean coup and the origins of transnational human rights activism,” *Journal of Global History* 8 no. 1 (March 2013): 165-186.

Kelly, Patrick William. “Human Rights and Christian Responsibility.” In *Religious Responses to Violence: Human Rights in Latin America Past and Present,* edited by Alexander Wilde, 95-122. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015.

Kelly, Patrick William. *Sovereign Emergencies: Latin America and the Making of Global Human Rights Politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Kennedy, David. “The International Human Rights Movement: Part of the Problem?” *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 15 (Spring 2002): 116–17.

Kennedy, David. *The Rights of Spring: A Memoir of Innocence Abroad.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Keys, Barbara. “Anti-Torture Politics: Amnesty International, the Greek Junta, and the Origins of the Human Rights “Boom” in the United States.” In *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History,* edited by Akira Iriye, Petra Goedde, and William Hitchcock, 201-221. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Keys, Barbara. “Congress, Kissinger, and the Origins of Human Rights Diplomacy.” *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 5 (November 2010): 823–851.

Keys, Barbara J. *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Kisseloff, Jeff. *Generation on Fire: Voices of Protest from the 1960s, An Oral History.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006.

Klaiber, Jeffrey. *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America.* New York: Orbis Books, 1998.

Knarr, James C. *Uruguay and the United States, 1903-1929: Diplomacy in the Progressive Era.* Kent: Kent State University Press, 2012.

Kohut, David, and Olga Vilella. *Historical Dictionary of the Dirty Wars.* New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017.

Korey, William. *Taking on the World's Repressive Regimes: The Ford Foundation's International Human Rights Policies and Practices.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Koskenniemi, Martti. "Foreword." In *Revisiting the Origins of Human Rights,* edited by Pamela Slotte and Miia Halme-Tuomisaari, ix-xviii. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kovras, Iosif. *Grassroots Activism and the Evolution of Transitional Justice: The Families of the Disappeared.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Kritz, Neil J. *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*. Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995.

LaFeber, Walter. "Thomas C. Mann and the Devolution of Latin American Policy: From Good Neighbor to Military Intervention." In *Behind the Throne: Servants of Power to Imperial Presidents, 1898-1968,* edited by Thomas J. McCormick and Walter LaFeber, 166-203. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Langguth, A. J. *Hidden Terrors.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Larsen, Egon. *A Flame in Barbed Wire: The Story of Amnesty International.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979.

Laviñ, Pamela, ed. *Triunfadores: Negros Profesionales en el Uruguay.* Montevideo: Editorial Psicolibros Universitario, 2013.

Lavrín, Asunción. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Lefranc, Sandine, and Frédéric Vairel, "The Emergency of Transitional Justice as a Professional International Practice." In *Dealing with Wars and Dictatorships: Legal Concepts and Categories in Action,* edited by Loira Israël and Guillaume Mouralis, 235-252. New York: Springer: 2004.

Leibner, Gerardo. *Camaradas y Compañeros.* Montevideo: Trilce, 2011.

Leibner, Gerardo. "Women in Uruguayan Communism: Contradictions and Ambiguities, 1920s-1960s." *Journal of Latin American Studies* (October 2017): 1-30.

Lewis, Marvin A. *Afro-Uruguayan Literature: Post-Colonial Perspectives.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003.

Liebman, Arthur, Kenneth N. Walker, and Myron Glazer, *Latin American University Students: A Six Nation Study.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Loveman, Mara. "High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina." *The American Journal of Sociology* 104 no. 2 (September 1988): 477-525.

Loveman, Mara. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Lessa, Francesca. *Memory and Transitional Justice in Argentina and Uruguay: Against Impunity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Lewis, Daniel. *Direct Democracy and Minority Rights: A Critical Assessment of the Tyranny of the Majority in American States.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Lewis, Paul H. *Guerrillas and Generals: the 'Dirty War' in Argentina.* Westport: Praeger, 2002.

Lord, Janet. "The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: Challenges and Opportunities." *Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review* 17 (1995): 329-363.

Luna, Juan Pablo. *Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Mallinder, Louise. "Uruguay's Evolving Experience of Amnesty and Civil Society's Response." *Working Paper No. 4, Beyond Legalism: Amnesties, Transition, and Conflict Transformation.* Queen's University of Belfast, March 2009.

Mann, Jim. *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War*. New York: Viking, 2009.

Marchesi, Aldo. "Escribiendo la Guerra Fría Latinoamericana: Entre el Sur "local" y el Norte "global."" *Estudos Históricos* 60 (2017): 187-202.

Marchesi, Aldo. "¿"Guerra" o "Terrorismo de Estado"? Recuerdos enfrentados sobre el pasado reciente uruguayo." In *Las Conmemoraciones: Las Disputas en las fechas "in-felices,"* edited by Elizabeth Jelin, 101-146. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, 2002.

Marchesi, Aldo. *Latin America's Radical Left: Rebellion and Cold War in the Global 1960s.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Marchesi, Aldo. *El presente de la dictadura: estudios y reflexiones a 30 años del golpe de estado en Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2004.

Marchesi, Aldo, "Revolution Beyond the Sierra Maestra: The Tupamaros and the Development of a Repertoire of Dissent in the Southern Cone." *The Americas* 70, no. 3 (January 2014): 523-553.

Marchesi, Aldo and Vania Markarian. "Cinco décadas de estudios sobre la crisis, democracia, y el autoritarismo en Uruguay." *Contemporánea* 3 no. 3 (2012): 213-242.

Marchesi, Aldo and Peter Winn. "Uruguay: los tiempos de la memoria," In *No Hay Mañana Sin Ayer,* edited by Peter Winn et al. Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2014.

Mario Benedetti: Textos preferidos y complementarios de autor y lector. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1992.

Marino, Katherine. *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Markarian, Vania. *El 68 Uruguayo: El Movimiento Estudiantil Entre Molotovs Y Musica Beat*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes Editorial, 2012.

Markarian, Vania. *Uruguay, 1968: Student Activism from Global Counterculture to Molotov Cocktails.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017.

Markarian, Vania. "From a revolutionary logic to humanitarian reasons: Uruguayan leftists in exile and human rights transnational networks." *Cuadernos del CLAEH* 1 (2006).

Markarian, Vania. *Left in Transformation: Uruguayan Exiles and the Latin American Human Rights Network, 1967 -1984*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Markarian, Vania. "To the Beat of the 'The Walrus': Uruguayan Communists and Culture in the Global Sixties." *The Americas* 70 no. 3 (January 2014): 363-392.

Martínez, José L. *Uruguay 1989: Frente Amplio.* Montevideo: Puntosur Editores, 1988.

Martínez, Virginia. *Los fusilados de abril: Quién mató a los comunistas de la 20?* Montevideo: Ediciones del Caballo Perdido, 2002.

Martínez, Virginia. *Los Rusos de San Javier.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2013.

Martínez, Virginia. *Tiempos de dictadura: 1973/1985 Hechos, voces, documentos, La represión y la resistencia día a día.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2005.

Mazzei, Enrique and Graciela Prat. "El Movimiento Pro-Referendum en Uruguay, 1986-1987." *Revisa Ciencias Sociales* 4 (1990): 29-33.

Mazzeo, Mario. *MPP: origines, ideas, protagonistas.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2005.

McPherson, Alan. *Ghosts of Sheridan Circle: How a Washington Assassination Brought Pinochet's Terror State to Justice*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2019.

McSherry, J. Patrice. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

McSherry, J. Patrice. "Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor." *Latin American Perspectives* 29 no. 1 (January 2002): 38-60.

Méndez, Juan E, and Javier Mariezcurrena, "Accountability for Past Human Rights Violations: Contributions of the Inter-American Organs of Protection," *Social Justice* 26 no. 4 (Winter 1999): 84-106.

Mendez, Mariana. "Delayed Transitional Justice: Timing and cross-country variation in Spain, Brazil, and Uruguay. PhD Diss., European University Institute, 2019.

Merritt, Jeffrey D. "Unilateral Human Rights Intercession: American Practice under Nixon, Ford, and Carter." In *The Diplomacy of Human Rights*, edited by David Newson, 43-59. Latham: University Press of America, 1986.

Merry, Sally Engle. *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Michelini, Felipe. "El largo camino a la verdad." *Revista IIDH* 24 (1996): 157-172.

Migdal, Alicia. "Formación de la Opinión Cultural." In *Cultura(s) y nación en el Uruguay de Fin de Siglo*, edited by Hugo Achugar, 177-189. Montevideo: FESUR, 1991.

Miller, Neil. *Out In the World: Gay and Lesbian Life from Buenos Aires to Bangkok.* New York: Random House, 1993.

Minow, Martha. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.

Molina, Iván and Fabrice Lehoucq. "Political Competition and Electoral Fraud: A Latin American Case Study." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, No. 2 (Autumn 1999): 199-234.

Montaño, Eugenia Allier. *Batallas por la memoria: Los usos políticos del pasado reciente en Uruguay.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2010.

Morley, Morris and Chris McGillion. *Reagan and Pinochet: The Struggle over US Policy toward Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Mower, Glenn A. *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy: The Carter and Reagan Experiences.* New York: Greenwood, 1987.

Moyn, Samuel. "The 1970s as a Turning Point in Human Rights History." In *The Breakthrough*: *Human Rights in the 1970s,* edited by Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, 1-14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

Muñoz, Carlos Basilio. *Uruguay homosexual: culturas, minorías y discriminación desde una sociología de la homosexualidad*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 1996.

Muravchik, Joshua. *Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy*. New York: Hamilton Press, 1986.

Natsios, Andrew and Andrew Card Jr., *Transforming Our World: President George H.W. Bush and American Foreign Policy.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021.

Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala. "Transitional Justice from the Margins." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 12 (2018): 1-8.

Noguez Reyes, Andrés. *San Carlos: Bajo la Dictadura 1973-1985.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2013.

Norden, Deborah. *Military Rebellion in Argentina: Between Coups and Consolidation.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Olaza, Mónica. "Afrodescendencia y restauración democrática en Uruguay: ¿Una nueva visión de ciudadanía?" *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 30 no. 40 (enero-junio 2017): 63-82.

Olsen, Tricia, Leigh Payne, and Andrew Reiter. *Transitional Justice In Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2010.

Ortuño, Edgardo. "Prólogo." In *Mediomundo: Sur, conventillo y después*. Montevideo: Medio&Medio, 2008.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Qvortrup, Matt, et. al. “Explaining the Paradox of Plebiscites,” *Government and Opposition* 55 no. 2 (April 2020): 202-219.

Parmar, Inderjeet. *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Parry, Albert. *Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1976.

Pee, Robert and William Michael Schmidli. “Introduction.” In *The Reagan Administration, The Cold War, and the Transition to Democracy Promotion,* edited by Michael Schmidli and Robert Pee, 1-28. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Pereira, Antonio. “Análisis de los informativos televisivos durante el proceso de aprobación de la ley de caducidad.” *Cuadernos de Historia* 9 (2012): 125-149.

Perelli, Carina. “Putting Conservatism to Good Use: Women and Unorthodox Politics in Uruguay, from Breakdown to Transition.” In *The Women’s Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy,* edited by Jane Jaquette, 95-113. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Pierri, Ettore and Luciana Possamay. *Hablan los otros.* Montevideo: Proyeccion, 1987.

Persico, Joseph E. *The Imperial Rockefeller: A Biography of Nelson A. Rockefeller*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Pousadela, Ines. “The Women’s Movement in Uruguay: A Decades-long Struggle for Legal Abortion.” *Crossroads Initiative, Society for Participatory Research.* 2012

Power, Jonathan. *Like Water on Stone: The Story of Amnesty International.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.

Rabe, Stephen. *Killing Zones: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rabe, Stephen. *Kissinger and Latin America: Intervention, Human Rights, and Diplomacy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Readings, Bill. “Silence as Discourse.” *Group for Early Modern Cultural Studies* (November 1994).

Rajca, Andrew. “Unraveling Normalized Rhetoric of Violence and Human Rights: The Dissensual Intervention of Sergio Bianchi’s Quanto Vale Ou E Por Quilo?” *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 305–21.

Randall, Margaret. “Uruguay: a woman remembers.” *Social Justice* 42 no 1 (Spring 2016): 116-126.

Reich, Cary. *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer 1908-1958.* New York: Double Day, 1996.

Remmer, Karen. *Military Rule in Latin America.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.

Renouard, Joe. *Human Rights in American Foreign Policy.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Reuterswärd, Camilla. “La Libertad de Acción y Conciencia: Cross-Party Alliances and Voting Strategies in Uruguay’s Abortion Policy Reform.” Paper presented at LASA 2016. New York, NY.

Rey Tristán, Eduardo. “Movilización estudiantil e izquierda revolucionara en el Uruguay (1968-1973).” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 28 (2002): 185-209.

Reyes, Andrés Noguez. *San Carlos: Bajo la Dictadura 1973-1985.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2013.

Rial, Juan. “Makers and Guardians of Fear: Controlled Terror in Uruguay.” In *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America,* edited by Juan E. Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen, and Manuel A. Garretón Merino, 90-103. Berkeley: University of California, 1992.

Rico, Álvaro, et al, eds. *15 Días que Estremecieran al Uruguay: Golpe de Estado y Huelga General.* Montevideo: Editorial Fin de Siglo, 2005.

Rico, Álvaro, et. al eds. *El Partido Comunista bajo la dictadura.* Montevideo: Editorial Fin de Siglo, 2021.

Rico, Álvaro. *La Universidad de la República: Desde el Golpe de Estado a la intervención.* Montevideo: CEIU, 2003.

Robinson, Geoffrey. “Human Rights History from the Ground Up.” In *The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents,* edited by Steve Stern and Scott Straus, 31-60. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

Rockman, Bert A. *The Leadership Question: The President and the American System*. New York: Praeger, 1984.

Rodríguez, Héctor. *Unidad Sindical y Huelga General.* Montevideo: Centro Uruguay Independiente, 1987.

Rodríguez, Mauricio. *La voz de todos: Zelmar Michelini: Su Vida*. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo Editorial, 2016.

Rodríguez, Romero Jorge. “The Afro populations of America’s Southern Cone: organization, development, and culture in Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.” In *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*, edited by Sheila S. Walker, 314-331. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.

Rodríguez, Romero Jorge. *Racismo y derechos humanos en Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones Étnicas: Organizaciones Mundo Afro, 2003.

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi. *Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Roniger, Luis and Mario Sznajder. *The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Roniger, Luis and Mario Sznajder. “The Legacy of Human Rights Violations and the Collective Identity of Redemocratized Uruguay.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (February 1997): 55-77.

Roniger, Luis and Mario Sznajder. *The Politics of Exile in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Root, Rebecca. *Transitional Justice in Peru.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Roriz, Joäo Henrique. “Clashing frames: human rights and foreign policy in the Brazilian re-democratization process.” *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 60 no. 1 (2017).

Ruiz, Marisa. *Ciudadanas en tiempos de incertidumbre: solidaridad, resistencia y lucha contra la impunidad (1972-1989).* Montevideo: Doble Clic Editoras, 2010.

Ruiz, Marisa. *La piedra en el zapato: amnistía y la dictadura uruguaya : la acción de Amnistía Internacional en los sucesos de mayo de 1976 en Buenos Aires*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, 2006.

Ruetalo, Victoria. "From Penal Institution to Shopping Mecca: The Economics of Memory and the Case of Punta Carretas." *Cultural Critique* 68 (Winter 2008): 38-65.

Ryan, Jeffrey. “Turning on Their Masters: State Terrorism and Unlearning Democracy in Uruguay.” In *When States Kill: Latin America, the U.S. and Technologies of Terror*, edited by Cecilia Menjívar and Néstor Rodriguez, 278- 304. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Sapriza, Graciela. “Nuestro racismo corriente: Los sustentos ideológicos e institucionales de la discriminación en el Uruguay del siglo XX.” cholke.org: un portal sobre la sociedad civil del sur, 2003. Available at www.cholke.org/documentos/sapriza.pdf

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Schmidli, William Michael. *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere: Human Rights and U.S. Cold War Policy toward Argentina*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Schmidli, William Michael. "Institutionalizing Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: U.S.-Argentine Relations, 1976-1980." *Diplomatic History* 35 no. 2 (April 2011): 351-377.

Schmidli, William Michael. "Rockin' to Free the World?: Amnesty International's Benefit Concert Tours, 1968-1988." *Diplomatic History* (2021): 1-26.

Schoultz, Lars. *Human Rights and United States Policy Towards Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Schultze, Marisa Silva. "El Patrido Comunista del Uruguay como objeto de studio: problemas novedades y desafíos." *Cuadernos de CLAEH* 34 no. 101 (2015): 87-110.

Schulzinger, Robert. *U.S. Diplomacy Since 1900.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Sebastian, Conrad. *What is Global History?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Sellars, Kirsten. *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights: Human Rights and Modern War*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2002.

Sempol, Diego. "A la sombra de una impunidad perenne: El movimiento de derechos humanos y la ley de caducidad." In *Ley de Caducidad: Un Tema Inconcluso: Momentos, Actores, y Argumentos (1986-2013)*, edited by Aldo Marchesi et al, 103- 138. Montevideo Ediciones Trilce, 2013.

Sempol, Diego. *De los baños a la calle: historia del movimiento lésbico, gay, trans uruguayo (1984-2013)*. Montevideo: Random House Mondadori, 2013.

Sempol, Diego. "Homosexualidad y cárceles políticas uruguayas. La homofobia como política de Resistencia." *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad: Revista Latinoamérica*, no. 4 (2000): 53–79.

Sempol, Diego. "Violencia Policial y Democracia en Disputa: El surgimiento de una política sexo/genérica durante la transición uruguaya (1980-1989)." *Estudos Sociologia, Recife* 2 no. 23 (2017).

Sharnak, Debbie. "The Gelman Case and the Legacy of Impunity in Uruguay." In *40 Years Are Nothing: History and Memory of the 1973 Coups D'etat in Uruguay and Chile*, edited by Pablo Leighton and Fernando Lopez, 33–56. United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.

Sharnak, Debbie." Justice for Whom?: Debating the 1986 Amnesty Law in Urban versus Rural Uruguay." Paper presented at LASA 2019, Boston, MA.

Sharnak, Debbie. “Reagan and the Waning Years of Uruguay’s Military Rule: Democracy Promotion and the Redefinition of Human Rights.’ In *The Reagan Administration, The Cold War, and the Transition to Democracy Promotion,* edited by Michael Schmidli and Robert Pee, 187-207. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Sharnak, Debbie. “The Road to Recognition: Afro-Uruguayan Activism and the Struggle for Visibility,” in *Narratives of Mass Atrocity: Victims and Perpetrators in the Aftermath,* edited by Sarah Federman and Ronald Niezen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Sharnak, Debbie. “Sovereignty and Human Rights: Reexamining Carter’s Human Rights Policy Towards the Third World.” *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 25 no. 2 (June 2014): 303-330.

Sharnak, Debbie. “Uruguay and the Reconceptualization of Transitional Justice.” In *Legacies of State Violence and Transitional Justice in Latin America: A Janus-Faced Paradigm?,* edited by Marcia Esparza and Nina Schneider, 135-153. Latham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.

Sharnak, Debbie. “Uruguay’s long transitional decade and a new era of gendered activism,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* (2017): 1-17.

Sharp, Dustin. “Interrogating the Peripheries: The Preoccupations of Fourth Generation Transitional Justice.” *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 26 (2013): 149-178.

Sikkink, Kathryn. *Evidence for Hope: Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Sikkink, Kathryn. “Human Rights, Principled Issue-networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America.” *International Organization* 47 no. 3 (Summer 1993): 411-441.

Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2011.

Sikkink, Kathryn, *Mixed Signals: U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Sikkink, Kathryn. “Latin American Countries as Norm Protagonists of the Idea of International Human Rights.” *Global Governance* 20 (2014): 389-404.

Sintado, Carlos and Manuel Quintero Pérez. *Emilio Castro: A Legacy of Passionate Ecumenism.* Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 2018.

Siri, Ingrid, Marta Ponce de Leon, and Salvador Schelotto. *El Pueblo delibera: El Congreso del Pueblo veinte años después.* Montevideo: Centro Uruguay Independiente, 1985.

Skaar, Elin. *Judicial Independence and Human Rights in Latin America: Violations, Politics, and Prosecution.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.

Skaar, Elin. “Wavering Courts: From Impunity to Accountability in Uruguay.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45 (August 2013): 483–512.

Skinner, Kiron K., et al. *The Strategy of Campaigning: Lessons from Ronald Reagan and Boris Yeltsin.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007.

Slezkine, Peter. “From Helsinki to Human Rights Watch: How an American Cold War Monitoring Group Became an International Human Rights Institution.” *Humanity* 5 no. 3 (Winter 2014): 345-370.

Slotte, Pamela and Miia Halme-Tuomisaari, eds. *Revisiting the Origins of Human Rights.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Smith, Gaddis. *Morality, Reason and Power: American Diplomacy in the Carter Years*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1986.

Sneh, Itai Nartzizenfield. *The Future Almost Arrived: How Jimmy Carter Failed To Change U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008.

Stavans, Ílan. “Introduction.” In *The Letters That Never Came* by Mauricio Rosencof. Lubbock, Texas Tech University Press, 2014.

Snyder, Sarah. “‘A Call for U.S. Leadership’: Congressional Activism on Human Rights.” *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 2 (April 2013): 372–97.

Snyder, Sarah. “The Defeat of Ernest Lefever’s Nomination: Keeping Human Rights on the United State Foreign Policy Agenda.” In *Challenging Human Rights on the US Foreign Policy Agenda: America and the World in the Long Twentieth Century,* edited by Bevan Sewell and Scott Lucas. New York: Palgrave, 2011.

Snyder, Sarah. “‘Ending our support for the dictators’: Ed Koch, Uruguay, and human rights.” *Cold War History* (2020): 1-18.

Snyder, Sarah. “Exporting Amnesty International to the United States: Transatlantic Human Rights Activism in the 1960s.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 34 no. 3 (August 2012): 779-799

Snyder, Sarah. *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network.* New York: Cambridge University Press 2011.

Snyder, Sarah. *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed U.S. Foreign Policy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

Søndergaard, Rasmus Sinding. *Reagan, Congress, and Human Rights: Contesting Morality in US Foreign Policy.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Spenser, Daniele. “The Caribbean Crisis: Catalyst for Soviet Project in Latin America.” In *In From the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War*, edited by Gilbert Michael Joseph and Daniela Spenser. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Stern, Steve J. *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet’s Chile, 1973-1988*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Stern, Steve J. *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet’s Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Stern, Steve J. and Scott Straus, eds. *The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

Stites Mor, Jessica, ed., *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013.

Strom, Megan. “Transnational Youth: The Federation of Uruguayan University Students in the Early Cold War, 1941-1958.” PhD diss., University of California San Diego, 2015.

Suri, Jeremi. *Henry Kissinger and the American Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Sutton, Clifford. “The Candombe Drumming of Uruguay: Contextualizing Uruguayan Identity Through Afro-Uruguayan Rhythm.” PhD diss., University of Miami, 2013.

Sutton, F.X. “The Ford Foundation’s Transatlantic Role and Purposes, 1951-81.” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 24 no. 1 (2001): 77-104.

Sznajder, Mario and Luis Roniger, “Political Exile in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* 34 no. 4 (2007): 7-30.

Sztainbok, Vannina. “From Salsipuedes to Tabaré: Race, Space, and the Uruguayan Subject.” *Thamyris/Intersecting* no. 20 (2010): 175-192.

Sztainbok, Vannina. *Imagining the Afro-Uruguayan* Conventillo: *Belonging and the Fetish of Place and Blackness.* PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009.

Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement: Social movements, collective action and politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Tate, Winifred. *Counting the Dead: The Culture and Politics of Human Rights Activism in Colombia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Teichman, Judith A. *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and Mexico*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Teitel, Ruti. *Transitional Justice.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Terra, Mercedes. *Una Mujer del Mañana: Historia y Memorias de Lil Gonella de Chouhy Terra.* Montevideo: Mano a Mano, 2008.

Thörn. Håkan. *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Townsend-Bell, Erica. "'We entered as blacks and we left as Afro-descendants': tracing the path to affirmative action in Uruguay." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 16 no. 3 (2021): 237-258.

Trevelyan, G. M., *English Social History.* London, 1944.

Trigo, Abril. "Candombe and the Reterritorialization of Culture." *Callaloo* 16 no. 3 (Summer 1993): 716–728.

Tulli, Umberto. "'Whose rights are human rights?' The Ambiguous Emergence of Human Rights and the Demise of Kissingerism." *Cold War History* 12 no. 4 (November 2012): 573-593.

Turek, Lauren Frances. *To Bring the Good News to All Nations: Evangelical Influence on Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Turiansky, Wladimir. *Los comunistas uruguayos en la historia reciente (1955-1991).* Montevideo: Fin de Siglo Editorial, 2010.

Turiansky, Wladimir. *El Uruguay desde la Izquierda: Una Crónica de 50 años en la vida política y social.* Montevideo: Cal y Canto, 1997.

Vaïse, Justin. *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

van Aken, Mark J. "The Radicalization of the Uruguayan Student Movement." *The Americas* 33 (July 1976): 109-129.

van Isschot, Luis. *The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia's Oil Capital, 1919–2010*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015.

Vanger, Milton I. *The Model Country: José Batlle Y Ordoñez of Uruguay, 1907-1915*. Hanover, N.H: University Press of New England, 1980.

Vinjamuri Leslie and Jack Snyder. "Law and Politics in Transitional Justice." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 303-327.

Walker, Vanessa. *Principles in Power: Latin America and the Politics of U.S. Human Rights Diplomacy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Weinstein, Harvey M. "Editorial Note: The Myth of Closure, the Illusion of Reconciliation: Final Thoughts on Five Years as Co-Editor-in-Chief." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5, no. 1 (March 2011).

Weinstein, Martin. "The Decline and Fall of Democracy in Uruguay: Lessons for the Future." In *Repression, Exile, and Democracy: Uruguayan Culture*, edited by Saúl Sosnowski and Louise B. Popkin, 83-102. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Weinstein, Martin. *Uruguay: Democracy at a Crossroads*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

Weinstein, Martin. *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Weitz, Eric. "From Vienna To the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions." *American Historical Review* 113 (2008): 1313–43.

Weitz, Eric. *A World Divided: The Global Struggle for Human Rights in the Age of Nation-States* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Weschler, Lawrence. *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Weschler, Lawrence. "Uruguay." In *Dealing with the Past: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by Alex Boraine, Janet Levy, and Ronel Scheffer. Cape Town, South Africa: IDASA, 1997.

Whitaker, Arthur. *The United States and the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile and Uruguay.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Winik, Jay. *On the Brink: The Dramatic Behind-the-Scenes Saga of the Reagan Era and the Men and Women Who Won the Cold War.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Winn, Peter. "Dictatorships and the Worlds of Work in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Brazil and Chile." *International Labor and Working Class History* 93 (2018): 5-7.

Wright, Thomas C. *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.

Yankelevich, Pablo, ed. *México país refugio: la experiencia de los exilios en el siglo XX*. Mexico: INAH, 2002.

Yankelevich, Pablo. “Memoria Y Exilio: Sudamericos En Mexico.” In *La Imposibilidad Del Olvido: Recorridos de La Memoria En Argentina, Chile, Y Uruguay*, edited by Bruno Groppo and Patricia Flier, 229-248. Argentina: Ediciones al Margen, 2001.

Youngers, Coletta. *Thirty Years of Advocacy for Human Rights, Democracy and Social Justice*. Washington, DC: The Washington Office on Latin America, 2006.

Zelizer, Julian. *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War II to the War on Terrorism*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Zelizer, Julian. *Jimmy Carter*. New York: Times Books, 2010.

Zolov, Eric. “Foreword.” In *Uruguay 1968: Student Activism from Global Counterculture to Molotov Cocktails*, by Vania Markarian, vii-xii. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017.